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ABSTRACT

External factors in the development of adult education include the social context, contributions from other disciplines, and associations and government. There are four points in the evolution of adult education between 1925 and 1964: (1) the difference between its origins as a field of study and its genesis as a field of practice; (2) the impact of contributors; (3) the social condition in the United States; and (4) the creation of special interest groups. The knowledge base emerged from the contributions of lay people and scholars. After 1964, the study of adult education included related disciplines, foundations, and social contextual developments. The Ford Foundation and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation have provided support for adult education projects. Federal, state, and local governments increased their support of adult education programs in 1964 by directly funding a national program for adult literacy. The knowledge base reflects atheoretical approaches to problems of practice, and research does not build upon previous results. Knowledge tends to be dependent upon theoretical foundations from other disciplines. The Syracuse University Collection describes the influence of social factors, foundations, and governmental programs on the development of adult education. (36 references) (NLA)

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Twentieth Century Social and Contextual Factors Contributing to the Development of Adult Education Knowledge

By Huey B. Long

Paper presented at the Syracuse University Kellogg Project's Second Visiting Scholar Conference in the History of Adult Education
March 1990

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Provides terminology specific to the Adult and Continuing Education Research Collection at Syracuse University. It is intended to give researchers more "handles" on collection contents.

Radical Thinking in Adult Education
(Occasional Paper No. 1) - By Irene Baros-Johnson, Bernita Bowen, Jane Hugo, Olive Owen, & Brent Snow

Comprises five graduate-student papers from a course taught by Phyllis Cunningham and John Ohliger at Syracuse University during the summer of 1987.

Breaking New Ground: The Development of Adult and Workers' Education in North America - Edited by Rae Wahl Rohfeld

Comprises 19 papers from the Syracuse University Kellogg Project's First Visiting Scholar Conference in the History of Adult Education. The papers examine the formative period of the field of adult education, the development of workers' education, and the interrelationships between the two fields.

How Are Libraries and Archives Different?
- By Rae Rohfeld, Terrance Keenan, & Elizabeth Oddy

Describes differences between libraries and archives in content, organization, and purpose; and provides a brief introduction to archival research.

Twentieth Century Social and Contextual Factors Contributing to the Development of Adult Education Knowledge*

Huey B. Long

INTRODUCTION

The knowledge base that underlies adult education as a field of study is of concern to adult educators (Long, 1987). This paper discusses how it developed. The knowledge base consists of information about the justifications and rationale for the existence of adult education, as well as information about procedures, methods, techniques, organization, and administration, that is, information to inform and improve practice. An underlying thesis provides a framework for the narrative. The thesis is that the development of adult education as a field of study rests upon internal and external factors. Internal factors include the growth of the professoriate and the kinds of scholarly research conducted. External factors include (a) the social contexts in which adult education has occurred, (b) contributions from other disciplines, and (c) associations and government. Figure 1 illustrates the thesis.

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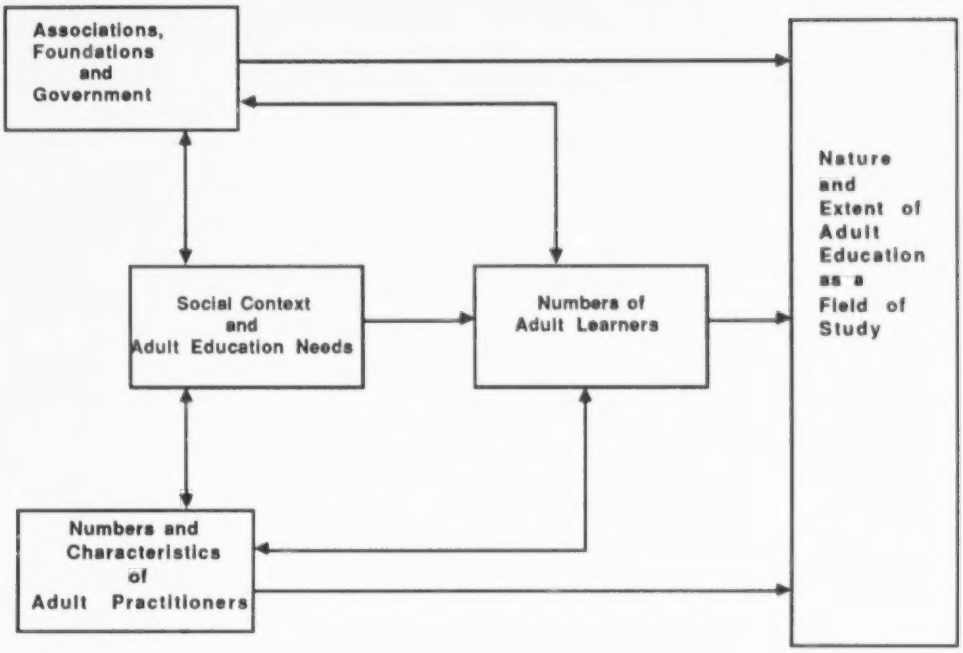
Figure 1: Variables affecting adult education as a field of study.


Associations, Foundations and Government
Social Context and Adult Education Needs
Numbers of Adult Learners
Numbers and Characteristics of Adult Practitioners
Nature and Extent of Adult Education as a Field of Study

This paper concentrates on the little-discussed external factors in the development of the field of adult education. Even though a substantial body of information currently exists to support a comprehensive study of the social and contextual factors contributing to the development of adult education, the topic has received limited attention. This paper, therefore, has two objectives: First, to provide a brief analysis of the topic; and, second, to identify some resources in the Syracuse University Adult and Continuing Education Research Collection that should be useful in additional study.

The paper is divided into sections: (a) evolution to 1964--when the landmark book *Adult Education: Outlines of an Emerging Field of University Study* was published (Jensen, Liveright, & Hallenbeck, 1964); (b) evolution after 1964, and (c) comments on the Syracuse University collection.

EVOLUTION TO 1964

The following discussion centers on the evolution of adult education as a field of study up to 1964. Four points are developed here: (a) there is a difference between the origins of adult education as a field of study and the genesis of adult

education as a field of practice; (b) discussion of the development of adult education knowledge should include the impact of three kinds of contributors; (c) social conditions in the United States, which were not unlike those in Canada, Great Britain, and other industrializing nations, contributed to the evolution of specialized studies of adult education; and (d) the creation of special interest groups or professional organizations provided impetus and some direction for the development of adult education as a field of study.

Origins

Adults engaged in educational pursuits long before the existence of organized study of adults as learners, or of delivery mechanisms for their education (Liveright, 1964; Long, 1976). However, as a field of professional practice adult education underwent significant growth between 1890 and 1925. Studies of adult education were motivated by a need to provide more effective and efficient education services to a larger clientele. The increasing visibility and importance of adult education practice also contributed to the emergence and evolution of adult education as a field of study (Houle, 1964).

Three Kinds of Contributors

There were three kinds of contributors to adult education as a field of study: (a) general practitioners and lay people, such as John H. Vincent and Lewis Miller, who were active in the 19th-century American Sunday School Movement and were cofounders of the Chautauqua; (b) scholars from other disciplines, such as W. L. Bryan and N. Harter (1897; 1899) and E. L. Thorndike (1928); and (c) adult education professors. The establishment of graduate academic departments is both a cause and an effect of the evolution of adult education as a field of study. The newly established adult education academic departments owed their existence to the realization that adult education was a rapidly expanding area of educational service that required the development of knowledge and theory. In turn, the location of the departments in colleges and universities placed them in a culture that valued research and publication activity. Thus the departments emerged out of a need for knowledge, which they subsequently produced. As defined here, the field includes such diverse topics as philosophy and purpose, the professoriate, and the kinds of research problems of concern to scholars of adult education.

Social Conditions

Adult education as an academic field emerged out of the dynamic Progressive Era (1890-1920). Progressives saw education as a solution to many, if not most, of society's problems. John Dewey, Charles Beard, Alvin Johnson, James Harvey Robinson, and Jane Addams led the way for practitioners such as Fannia Cohn, Cora Bell Stewart, and Wil Lou Gray. Thus, adult education scholarship was related to adult education practice.

Prior to 1915, little effort was made to provide opportunities for immigrants to learn English or study for citizenship (Rowden, 1934). Between 1915 and 1920, twenty-five states adopted legislation concerning immigrant education. Only New Jersey and Massachusetts had adopted legislation on this earlier. By 1927 five more states, for a grand total of thirty-two states, had enacted immigrant education legislation. At least eighteen states provided financial aid to school districts for this purpose, usually on a fifty-percent matching basis (Rowden, 1934).

The rising interest in Americanization--or education for adult immigrants--worker education, and literacy stimulated the development of education programs for adults. The United States Office of Education assisted in the development of curriculum materials for immigrant education. Labor unions, such as the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), developed sophisticated education programs for their members; and some states such as South Carolina devised special literacy projects for adult learners. University professors, such as William S. Gray, Charles Beard, and Eduard Lindeman, developed a scholarly interest in the increasing adult education activities.

Professional Organizations

The growth of adult education as a field of study was stimulated by the creation of organizations such as the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE), formed in 1926, and the Adult Education Department of the National Education Association (NEA), formed in 1924 from the Department of Immigrant Education, which was created in 1921 (Knowles, 1962). Both the AAAE and the Adult Education Department of the NEA soon developed publication programs that served increasing numbers of individuals involved in the education of adults.

From its earliest years, AAAE committed itself to research and dissemination of information. In 1934-35, in the depths of the Depression, the

association successfully encouraged the Carnegie Corporation to set aside $100,000 for studies and experiments in adult education (Cartwright, 1935). Conservatively estimated, that $100,000 would be equivalent to over $1 million in 1990.

Space does not permit a detailed listing of all of the AAAE-sponsored publications, which contributed to the development of adult education knowledge. Some examples are the *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States*, published in 1934 (Rowden), 1936 (Rowden), and 1948 (Ely); *Adult Education in Action* (Ely, 1936); *Adult Education and Democracy* (1936); and *Learn and Live* (Williams & Heath, 1936). The AAAE also provided funds to the NEA's Adult Education Department to support publication of the *Bulletin*.

In addition, the AAAE maintained a well-financed experimental and research program from 1926 to 1941. A detailed account of a carefully designed five-year research agenda concerning the social significance of adult education is contained in the AAAE's Annual Report of the Director, 1936-37 (Cartwright, 1937). Expenditures averaging approximately $50,000 per year were approved by the Carnegie Corporation.

From 1926 to about 1945 the AAAE and the Carnegie Corporation played important roles in developing the knowledge base. Then from 1945 to 1964 the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation replaced the Carnegie Corporation in supporting adult education. Gradually, university adult education faculty and graduate students assumed increasing responsibility for research and dissemination. A major shift began in about 1965; more is said on this later in this paper.

Other national organizations that were involved in activities designed to expand adult education knowledge included the National University Extension Association (NUEA) and the Association of University Evening Colleges (AUEC). The various contributions of these organizations await description at another time. It is sufficient to observe here that both organizations were engaged in projects designed to address questions of practice and to disseminate the knowledge gained through practice and research.

Section Summary

The knowledge base of adult education has grown with the development of adult education as a field of study. Adult education as a field of practice existed prior to the emergence of efforts to systematically develop a knowledge base for

practice. The knowledge base emerged from the contributions of three groups: (a) amateurs or lay people interested in education of adults, (b) scholars from other disciplines, and (c) professors and scholars studying the education of adults.

Between 1890 to 1925 education was recognized as a solution to some of the social problems confronting America and other industrial nations. Growing numbers of adults engaged in education, while social support in the form of financial assistance for adult education programs increased. Even during the Depression years, significant numbers of adults participated in such programs.

Acceptance of adult education was paralleled by the establishment of national special interest groups, specifically the Adult Education Department of the NEA, AAAE, Association of University Evening Colleges (AUEC), and National University Extension Association (NUEA). All of these organizations contributed to adult education. They encouraged, stimulated, and supported research and dissemination programs. University graduate programs, which emerged in the 1930s, provided limited leadership in the development of the field's knowledge base.

EVOLUTION AFTER 1964

This section discusses how adult education as a field of study evolved. It covers (a) concerns about the future of adult education mentioned by Houle (1964) and Liveright (1964), and (b) factors affecting the evolution of adult education as a field of study after 1964, including related disciplines, foundations and other agencies, and social contextual developments.

Problems, Projections, and Prophecies

Houle (1964) and Liveright (1964) commented on problems, issues, and implications concerning the evolution of adult education as a field of study in the book *Adult Education: Outlines of an Emerging Field of University Study*. Houle identified five major problems, one of which was the inadequacy of the field's knowledge base.

At the time of Houle's writing there were two primary publications for adult educators: *Adult Education Journal* and *Adult Leadership*, published by the Adult Education Association (AEA) of the U.S.A., with support from the Fund for Adult Education (FAE). The association also published short, practical, how-to-do-it materials. A more scholarly publication program was conducted by

the Center for the Study of Liberal Adult Education (CSLEA), which was also supported by the FAE.

The Commission of Professors of Adult Education (CPAE), formed in the 1950s, and the Adult Education Research Conference (AERC), established in 1959, were only beginning to have an impact on adult education knowledge when Houle prepared his manuscript. Both were small organizations--the 1961 CPAE listed only twenty-four members (Verner, Liveright, & Jensen, 1961).

A recent publication, RE/ACE Journal Index for Adult and Continuing Education Research, published by Northern Illinois University (1989), identifies 162 scholarly publications that will consider submissions on adult education-related topics. An earlier investigation (Long, 1977) reveals that professors of adult education had published in 382 different periodicals. The importance of graduate programs of study in the production of adult education knowledge is further revealed by Lee (1979), who reports that 40.3% of the articles appearing in the *Adult Education Journal* between 1974 and 1978 were "conceptualized by graduate students" (p. 4) and 51.9% were the work of faculty.

A comparison of studies by Brunner et al. (1959) and Long (1983) reveals a rapid expansion of adult education research. Long's work was based on a review of 6,000 to 9,000 items, while Brunner and others reviewed approximately 6,000 items. Other important differences exist: Brunner and his colleagues reviewed material from 1926 to about 1958, a period of almost thirty years. Long's review was primarily limited to a fifteen-year period, 1965 to 1980. A close scrutiny of the publications cited in the two books also reveals a greater specialization in "adult education" (as opposed to works cited from other fields and disciplines) in Long's work.

The above developments address part of Houle's concern. There is no question that the quantity of knowledge concerning adult education increased immensely after 1964. The question of *quality, appropriateness,* and *usefulness* is less definitively addressed. Given the criticisms of adult education research as reported by Long (1983; 1987), there remains some concern about research quality.

The appropriateness of some of the research is also subject to criticism. Brookfield (1984) has raised the issue of methodology, while others have debated the relative merits of qualitative versus quantitative research. A third concern is limited success in transferring adult education research findings to practice.

Liveright (1964) dealt primarily with aims and purposes of the field, professionalization, and graduate programs of study for adult educators. These

issues continue to trouble adult educators. Since the formation of AAAE, adult educators have failed to agree on aims and purposes for the field. Two main positions, with multiple subordinate positions, have existed for at least fifty years. Eduard Lindeman (1989) represents the first of these views, which is a philosophy of social action (Brookfield, 1987). The second is illustrated by Lyman Bryson (1936) and Everett Dean Martin (1930), with their focus on the individual learner. Such differences are likely to have been a catalyst for the drafting of a set of assumptions by the AAAE director's staff in 1936-37 (Cartwright, 1937).

Elias and Merriam (1980) illustrate the range of adult educators' aims and purposes. Cotton's (1968) earlier work similarly identifies multiple philosophical orientations in the literature between 1919 and 1968. He identifies them as social reformist, professional, and eclectic.

Others who have written about philosophical aims and purposes of adult education include Bergevin (1967), Lawson (1975), and Patterson (1979). Philosophers not directly associated with adult education, whose ideas have been influential, are Sir Richard Livingstone (1945) and Sir Alfred N. Whitehead (in numerous works).

The disagreement over aims and purposes of adult education as a field of practice is mirrored, perhaps imperfectly, in the ways that the purposes of research are defined. There is a long history of research in adult education designed to answer the "how" questions of practice (Long, 1987). As adult education emerged as a field of university study, pressure to emphasize the "why" or theoretical questions increased.

Liveright's (1964) discussion moved from aims and philosophies to issues of professionalization. As noted above, Cotton (1968) also related professionalization to a philosophical position. Space does not permit a recapitulation of the various criteria for a profession provided by Liveright and others. It is sufficient to observe that the educators who work with adults, whose numbers have increased dramatically since 1964, now have a greater claim to asserting that their practice is based on a special body of knowledge.

The generation and expansion of the adult education knowledge base since 1964 is a result of many factors. The next section describes and discusses some of them.

Influence of Related Disciplines

Related disciplines continued to contribute to the development of adult education as a field of study by providing models of research methodology, theory, and practice. This paper is concerned with the first two kinds of contributions.

Adult education may be perceived as an applied social science. As such, it has not developed a unique research philosophy or a research methodology; it has borrowed research methods from anthropology, economics, history, psychology, and sociology. Research methods can have greater impact on the knowledge base than is casually apparent: they influence, if not determine, what is studied, how findings are interpreted, and the meaning that is given to research results.

Contextual Factors

Since 1964 both the face and spirit of America have changed. The national psyche has undergone a number of challenges including actions for greater and broader social equality such as the Great Society programs of the Johnson presidency; changes in black-white relations; greater involvement of women in all phases of social, economic, and political activity; disillusionment with powerful political figures; significant demographic changes; and democratization of higher education. Accompanying these changes have been rapid technological advances, severe economic adjustments, and problems presented by immigration, crime, and skyrocketing health costs.

As in the first quarter of the century, education has been perceived as a solution to these problems. For example, the problems of malpractice in many professions has contributed to mandatory continuing education; questionable performance of high school graduates has been translated into a need for more staff development for teachers; decreasing production in business and industry has led to additional training for workers; and new administrative procedures and systems have required new learning.

A massive educational establishment was created in the United States between 1950 and 1980. Although a large segment of society continues to place a high value on education, the infrastructure of educational institutions has been weakened by a decline in the numbers of traditional school and college age populations and by financial problems resulting from static governmental funding, inflation, and the high cost of science and high-technology educational

programs. Educational establishments have been making great efforts to recruit older students to education and, in contrast to the 1960s, are trying desperately to keep students enrolled. Universities see continuing education as a way to generate funds for the institution. Marketing has become a key word among administrators.

Contextual developments since 1964 often have directly or indirectly contributed to the rapid expansion of adult education as a field of practice. As in the 1920s and 1930s, the growth of the field of practice presents intellectual and theoretical problems for professors and graduate students.

Influence of Foundations

It is impossible to adequately discuss the evolution of adult education as a field of study between 1965 and 1990 without recognizing the impact of two major foundations. The Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation have made numerous grants to associations, organizations, and various universities in Canada, Great Britain, and the United States. The fund provided support for a number of adult education projects, including support for AEA of the U.S.A. and CSLEA publications. Although the intellectual depth and quality of AEA of the U.S.A. publications were uneven, they provided some guidance for practice. The CSLEA publications often were less practice-oriented than AEA of the U.S.A. publications; they provided useful information and were often status descriptions. Neither publication program demonstrated great concern for theory.

The W. K. Kellogg Foundation's infusion of funds into adult education, which began in 1945, also reflected a practice orientation. Ten residential continuing education centers were built at American universities between 1945 and 1968. According to Alford (1968), the foundation awarded $20 million for centers at the following locations: Michigan State University (1951), University of Georgia (1957), University of Nebraska (1961), University of Oklahoma (1962), University of Chicago (1963), University of Notre Dame (1965), Oxford University (1965), New England Center at the University of New Hampshire (1965/1966), Columbia University (1966), and California Polytechnic State College (1968).

More recently, the foundation made sizeable contributions to the University of Georgia, the Oklahoma State Regents of Higher Education, Syracuse University, and a five-state western consortium including Colorado, Idaho,

Montana, Wyoming, and Utah. Additional grants were made to Tuskeegee University and to Michigan State University.

The W. K. Kellogg Foundation grants were usually made to support the application, rather than the generation, of knowledge, a value expessed by Emory Morris, 1968 chairman of the board of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation:

> Through the years of its existence the W. K. Kellogg Foundation has promoted the application of knowledge as the chief means of narrowing the gap between the creation of information and its use for the public good. (Alford, 1968, p. v)

However, recent W. K. Kellogg Foundation support for projects at the Montana State University, Syracuse University, University of Georgia, and the University of Oklahoma has included research, or the generation of knowledge. Thus, the contributions of the Ford Foundation and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation have also influenced the evolution of the adult education knowledge base since 1964.

Governmental Support

No one has been located who will confess to accurate knowledge of governmental expenditures in behalf of adult education since 1964 (Collins & Long, 1989). Yet it is safe to assert that federal, state, and local governments significantly increased their support of adult education programs in 1964 and afterward. The year 1964 is significant because it marked the first time the federal government directly funded a national program for adult literacy. Previously, the federal government had provided support for special programs in the Depression Era. But even during the height of the Americanization education efforts in the 1920s, federal dollars were limited and were usually restricted to developing curriculum materials.

In 1964, with the Economic Opportunity Act, the federal government initiated a program of state grants for adult literacy programs. In subsequent years, primarily in the 1960s and early 1970s, government funds were used to develop and strengthen university adult education programs. No research has been identified that reveals how many of the current university adult education programs owe their existence, directly or indirectly, to the literacy monies. These funds also stimulated a number of activities that contributed to the knowledge

base, including special institutes and workshops on adult literacy, research designed to improve instruction and recruit illiterates, and so forth. This legislation, now referred to as the Adult Education Act, continues to provide assistance.

Following the landmark legislation of 1964, another important piece of federal legislation was enacted. The 1965 Higher Education Act contained a significant provision for university outreach and community services. Each state received an allocation for support of a state administration and competitive grants within the state. Unfortunately, funding for community services ended during the Carter-Reagan era. These pieces of federal legislation appear to be more significant than any federal legislation adopted in the earlier period.

Since 1964 there has also been a shift from needs assessments in program planning to marketing. Needs assessment involves collecting information from a defined group and then developing an educational program in response. In the marketing approach, needs may be manipulated by marketing strategies (Long, 1987). Program promotion was a term only occasionally used in the pre-1965 adult education literature (Long, 1983). That term has been replaced with marketing, which includes price, product, place, and promotion as critical elements.

Quantity of research has greatly changed since 1964. While no good index or inventory of adult education research is available, information reported elsewhere in this paper supports the assertion that more was written about adult education problems in the twenty-five years from 1965 to 1990 than in the thirty-nine years between 1925 and 1964.

Section Summary

Significant progress occurred in adult education as a field of study between 1965 and 1990. The momentum created in the earlier years of the period has sustained the field through a period of important social adjustment. This section has provided a discussion of (a) projective, or prophetic, comments made by Houle (1964) and Liveright (1964); and (b) factors affecting the evolution of adult education as a field of study since 1964.

Specific attention was focused on Houle's concern about the knowledge base and Liveright's interest in aims and purposes and professionalization. Both authors had legitimate concerns which have not yet been completely addressed. The knowledge base continues to reflect atheoretical approaches to problems of

practice, and research tends to hop and skip about rather than build upon previous results. The field has not been able to satisfactorily develop an "adult education discipline." Adult education knowledge continues to be, and may permanently be, dependent upon theoretical foundations borrowed from other disciplines.

Internal and external factors affecting adult education as a field of study were discussed. Internal factors include the growth of the professoriate, which is associated with greater numbers of university graduate degree programs, and the kinds of problems studied. External factors include contributions from other disciplines, social contextual variables, and the support of foundations and government. The combined influence of these factors, internal and external, was generally positive, that is, they stimulated adult education as a field of practice and strengthened the knowledge base.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY COLLECTION

The Adult and Continuing Education Research Collection at Syracuse University should be helpful to scholars attempting to describe the influence of social factors, foundations, and governmental programs on the development of adult education. The information available in the collection may also help explain why the Carnegie, Ford, and Kellogg Foundations supported adult and continuing education in the ways they did and how their support directed the development of the field. Indeed, how can the development of adult education as a professional field of study be explained *without* reference to the Carnegie Foundation and its early support of the American Association for Adult Education and the Institute of Adult Education at Teachers College, Columbia University?

A researcher might also ask, What impacts of the Fund for Adult Education are still felt? What is the long-term significance of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation's emphasis on residential continuing education? Sources found in the collection may also illuminate some of the historical debates, such as the role of adult education in a democratic society and the relationship between the role focus and the development of the field. Similarly, the sources may explain the reasons for governmental funding practices for adult education.

Some of the papers that should be useful in additional study of the social and contextual forces in the development of adult education are identified below:

Adult Education Association (AEA) of the U.S.A.
Association of University Evening Colleges (AUEC)
Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults (CSLEA)
Fund for Adult Education (FAE)
Malcolm S. Knowles
National Association of Public School Adult Educators (NAPSAE)
National University Extension Association (NUEA)
Paul Henry Sheats

Other sources of information on the actors of the period include the tapes provided by Joseph W. Jacques and the papers of Andrew Hendrickson.

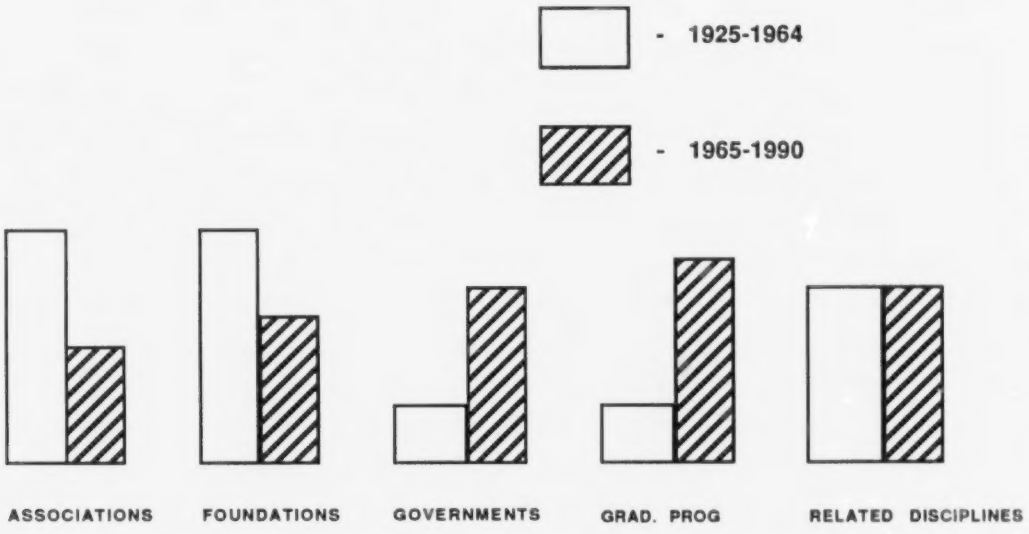
CONCLUSIONS

How did adult education as a field of study become what it is? The field focuses on a wide range of concerns, including the administration and organization of adult education agencies and programs, teaching methods and techniques, adult learning abilities and behaviors, and adult social roles and behaviors that have implications for instruction and learning. Many of these concerns can be subsumed under the headings of physiology of adults, psychology of adults, and sociology of adults. The knowledge base of adult education is quite diffuse and tied to related disciplines.

Individual leaders, the field of practice, social contextual factors, foundations, and the government have contributed to the development of adult education as a field of study. Each of the aforementioned influences have exerted its own sort of pressure on the adult education knowledge base. Figure 2 illustrates the author's perception of the relative influence of selected variables on the development of adult education as a field of study.

Adult education as a field of practice and as a field of study has always been sensitive to the views of "leaders." The early leaders of the field were an eclectic group, many of whom were leaders in other areas of endeavor. Charles A. Beard, Newton D. Baker, John Dewey, Hilda Smith, Wil Lou Gray, Eduard Lindeman, Robert S. Lynd, James Harvey Robinson, and E. L. Thorndike (Annual Report of the Director, 1933-34) illustrate the kinds of people who served as directors of the AAAE.

Figure 2: An illustration of the influence of selected variables on the development of adult education as a field of study, 1925-1990.



Consensus about the purposes of adult education was naturally difficult to achieve with such a diverse group; however, the practice of agreeing upon broad parameters for the field has persisted to the present in spite of occasional debates. Even when there were only a few professors of adult education and a handful of graduate programs, there were continuing calls for openness rather than "rigidity" in philosophy and practice.

Social contextual factors have pushed or pulled adult education according to the current social needs. Early attention was on immigrant education, education for democracy, workers education, community forums, and so forth. Following World War II, continuing education in residential centers joined community development as active areas. Since 1964 programmatic areas have included literacy, English as a second language, continuing residential education, and continuing professional education, to cite a few. Adult educators seemed to have little interest in or involvement with community development in the 1980s.

Foundation grants and government funding have influenced adult education practice and study by putting money into selected program areas such as literacy education and continuing education.

One final source of influence is the field of practice itself. The research and theory of traditional disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, and psychology, more often emerge from the internal development of the disciplines--as when one theory of behavior is replaced by another or is modified when the first theory loses its usefulness or is faced with disconfirmation. However, adult education as a field of study tends to be influenced more by changing theories in related disciplines and by practice developments.

The Syracuse University Adult and Continuing Education Research Collection is a valuable resource that can be used to help develop a better understanding of social and contextual forces in the development of adult education.

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